

## Message Text

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ORIGIN MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-09 H-02

INR-09 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14

USIA-12 NEA-10 GAC-01 SAJ-01 IO-12 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 OMB-01 TRSE-00 INRE-00 /152 R

DRAFTED BY D/ MBFR: RLGARTHOFF/ RES

3/21/73

APPROVED BY D: MR. RUSH ( DRAFT)

S/ S - MR. BARNES

----- 126510

P 222150 Z MAR 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

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VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL, HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL

E. O.11652: GDS12-31-81

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH CONVERSATION WITH FRG  
DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH

1. SUMMARY. AMBASSADOR ROTH, IN CALL ON DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH MARCH21, ON OFFICIALLY AUTHORIZED BASIS EXPRESSED FRG UNDERSTANDING FOR PRESIDENT' S INTEREST IN MBFR AS MEANS TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE POLITICAL BASIS FOR CONTINUED PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE. HE ALSO INFORMED DEPUTY SECRETARY THAT FRG HAS NOW DEFINITELY DECOUPLED QUESTION OF PROPOSED RESTRUCTURING OF BUNDESWEHR FROM MBFR, AND HAS JUST ABOUT DECIDED TO SUPPORT REDUCTION OF STATIONED FORCES ONLY AS FIRST STEP MBFR REDUCTION. HE REAFFIRMED SECRET

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FRG DESIRE FOR CLOSE BILATERAL CONSULTATION. DEPUTY SECRETARY IN RESPONSE REAFFIRMED US OBJECTIVES IN MBFR AND

INTENTION TO CONTINUE CLOSE ALLIED CONSULTATION, INCLUDING  
FRG. END SUMMARY

2. ROTH OPENED BY READING "NON-PAPER" AUTHORIZED BY  
SECRETARY FRANK WELCOMING PRESIDENT NIXON'S STATEMENTS  
ON NOT ALLOWING ANY REDUCTION IN AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE  
EXCEPT IN MUTUAL BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS WHICH INSURE  
CONTINUED SECURITY. HE EXPRESSED FRG UNDERSTANDING FOR  
PRESIDENT'S DESIRE TO EASE PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL AMERI-  
CAN REDUCTIONS THROUGH EARLY BEGINNING OF MBFR NEGOTIA-  
TIONS. HE FURTHER EXPRESSED GERMAN HOPE THAT THROUGH

NEGOTIATIONS ON POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS US AND USSR STATIONED  
FORCES PRESIDENT WILL SUCCEED IN ESTABLISHING DURABLE  
POLITICAL BASIS FOR CONTINUED PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES  
IN EUROPE.

3. ROTH CONTINUED BY NOTING INTERNAL PRESSURES IN GERMANY  
FOR FRG REDUCTIONS IF IMPRESSION DEVELOPED THAT MAIN EX-  
CLUSIVE PURPOSE OF MBFR WAS REDUCTION OF AMERICAN FORCES.  
HE STRESSED THAT IT IS NOT GERMAN INTENTION TO USE MBFR  
NEGOTIATIONS AS VEHICLE TO FACILITATE STRUCTURAL CHANGES  
IN GERMAN ARMED FORCES; DECISIONS ON MILITARY REORGANIZA-  
TION WILL BE TAKEN INDEPENDENTLY ON MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. HE  
FURTHER NOTED THAT THIS POSITION HAD NOW BEEN FIRMLY  
ESTABLISHED BY THE FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MINISTERS. FINALLY,  
HE NOTED GERMAN POSITION THAT POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITU-  
ATION IN EUROPE MUST FIRST BE ESTABLISHED BY MEANS OF  
ADEQUATE PRELIMINARY MEASURES BEFORE BRINGING ABOUT  
GRADUAL REDUCTION OF INDIGENOUS FORCES AT APPROPRIATE  
FUTURE TIME.

4. DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED BY REAFFIRMING US INTENTION  
TO CONSULT ALLIES INCLUDING FRG FULLY AS WE WORK OUT  
JOINT MBFR POSITIONS. HE NOTED US PREPARED TO TAKE LEAD  
IN ADVANCING POSITIONS FOR ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION, RE-  
CALLING OUR PROMISE TO PROVIDE SUCH IDEAS SOON. TURNING  
TO QUESTION OF STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCES IN MBFR,  
DEPUTY SECRETARY NOTED THAT AMERICAN FORCES TAKEN OUT OF  
EUROPE UNDER MBFR REDUCTIONS COULD REMAIN AT DISPOSAL OF  
SECRET

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ALLIANCE, WHILE FRG OR OTHER INDIGENOUS FORCES REDUCED  
WOULD HAVE TO BE DEMOBILIZED. HE ALSO NOTED THAT PRESI-  
DENT HOPES OUR ALLIES WILL TAKE ON A HEAVIER SHARE OF THE  
ALLIANCE DEFENSE BURDEN. ROTH AGAIN EMPHASIZED THAT FRG,  
AS HE HAD JUST OFFICALLY ADVISED, HAS DECOUPLED QUESTION  
OF RESTRUCTURING BUNDESWEHR FROM MBFR. SOVIETS SHOULD NOT  
BE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN INTERNAL  
ALLIANCE DEFENSE DECISIONS. (ROTH SAID PARENTHETICALLY  
THAT FRG HOPES FOR A GOVERNMENT DECISION ON ITS OWN FORCE

RESTRUCTURING BY END OF THIS YEAR, WHICH WOULD MEAN THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO CONSIDER QUESTION OF MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS INVOLVING BUNDESWEHR FOR THREE OR FOUR YEARS.) ROTH SAID THAT AN AGREEMENT TO REDUCE US AND SOVIET FORCES WOULD BE ANOTHER MATTER, AND THOUGHT THIS COULD BE AGREED UPON.

5. ROTH STRESSED THAT IT WOULD FACILITATE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HANDLING OF ITS INTERNAL PROBLEMS IF THEY COULD BE APPRISED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S OBJECTIVES IN MBFR. WE MIGHT HAVE SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES,

BUT HE THOUGHT THEY COULD BE GEARED TOGETHER. IF, HOWEVER, SUCH OBJECTIVES WERE NOT KNOWN, THEY COULD NOT BE EFFECTIVELY GEARED TOGETHER AND SOVIETS COULD DIVIDE THE ALLIES.

6. DEPUTY SECRETARY AGREED. HE NOTED THAT IT WOULD NOT BE TO ALLIANCE ADVANTAGE TO PUSH FOR REDUCTION OF EAST EUROPEAN ARMIES OTHER THAN SOVIET FORCES, AND THAT REDUCTION OF SOVIET FORCES ON THE OTHER HAND WOULD PROVIDE A BASIS FOR MORE EAST EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC FLEXIBILITY. ROTH EXPRESSED FULL AGREEMENT.

7. ROTH THEN ADDRESSED MBFR PHASING. HE SAID IT WAS NOT A GERMAN AIM TO PROVIDE A SERIES OF SEPARATE PHASES OF MBFR, ALTHOUGH SOME HAD MISINTERPRETED GERMAN POSITION IN THIS REGARD. THE FRG WOULD NOT OPPOSE EARLY REDUCTIONS IN STATIONED, US AND SOVIET, FORCES. RATHER, THEY ARE PREPARED TO SEE THE WEST TEST SOVIET POSITION ON CONSTRAINTS AND AGREE ON CONSTRAINTS COUPLED WITH STATIONED FORCES CUTS, POSTPONING THE QUESTION OF INDIGENOUS REDUCTIONS. BUT IT  
SECRET

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WAS NOT THE GERMAN POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE, SAY, FIVE PHASES AND FIVE YEARS BEFORE REDUCTIONS OCCURRED.

8. DEPUTY SECRETARY STATED THAT US HAS TWO OBJECTIVES IN MBFR: (1) TO STRENGTHEN THE PRESIDENT'S HAND IN AVOIDING UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS -- FOR WHICH THE HOLDING OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WAS IMPORTANT, AND (2) TO TEST WHETHER SOVIETS REALLY INTERESTED IN REDUCING STATIONED FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WITHOUT ADVERSELY AFFECTING THEIR RELATIVE STRENGTH, TAKING ACCOUNT OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISPARITIES. HE NOTED THAT ATTENTION COULD BE GIVEN IN THE FIRST INSTANCE TO DISCUSSION OF CONSTRAINTS WHICH MIGHT TAKE A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF TIME. WHETHER SUCH CONSTRAINTS NEED PRECEDE REDUCTIONS WAS A QUESTION NEEDING DISCUSSION IN THE ALLIANCE.

9. ROTH SAID THAT THE FRG WAS NOT INTERESTED IN PREVENTING

MBFR TALKS FROM BEGINNING, AND WAS NOT AGAINST NEGOTIATING STATIONED FORCE CUTS. FRG SEES LONG TERM INTEREST IN MBFR RELATING TO IMPROVED EAST - WEST RELATIONS. ROTH THEN REPEATED THAT SINCE TIME IS SHORT BEFORE AUTUMN WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE IN ALLIANCE ON DISCUSSION OF MBFR OBJECTIVES, WITH AIM IN THE FIRST TALKS IN THE FALL TO SOUND OUT SOVIET INTENTIONS, PERHAPS NOT ADVANCING NEGOTIATING PROPOSALS.

10. DEPUTY SECRETARY AGREED ON IMPORTANCE OF DISCUSSING MBFR OBJECTIVES IN THE ALLIANCE, AND STRESSED THE NEED TO AVOID DISTRUST

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